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Livonians

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SUBCONTRACTOR'S MONOGRAPH

HRAF-9 Indiana-37

THE LIVONIANS

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Livonians

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ON

THE LIVONIANS

Prepared by the members of the faculty and staff of Indiana University's Graduate Program in Uralic and Asian Studies.

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Livonians

PREFACE

121 This is one of a series of monographs produced under HRAF Subcontracts. The Indiana University Subcontracts were awarded to provide primarily enthnographic coverage of the Uralic peoples. This monograph has not been edited or evaluated by HRAF. The views and opinions expressed are those of the authors.

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INTRODUCTION

114 1. This series of monographs was prepared under contract HRAF-2 Indiana-1 by members of the faculty and staff of Indiana University's Graduate Program in Uralic and Asian Studies, and under the auspices of the Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics. The undersigned, Chairman of the Program and of the Research Center, served as Principal Investigator. Ruth C. Heffner co-ordinated the project and was its general Editor. Other participants included, on the research staff -- Victor E. Hanzeli, Ken Ishimoto, Igor Kopytoff (Northwestern University), Nicholas Mihailoff-Shelly, Eeva Kangasmaa Minn, Felix J. Oinas, Alo Raun, Linda Raun, and Joseph Strmecki; and as cartographers -- Joan Harris, Robert Mayfield, and John Ray. The author or authors chiefly responsible for each handbook are indicated on the title page of each particular monograph.

128 2. The contract required that a topical format ("Annex A") be followed, wherever applicable. This requirement was, naturally, complied with, even though, from a purely scholarly point of view, a sharply different arrangement of the data, and of their interpretation, would have been more desirable.

3. The staff feel that the severe limitations of time and the inaccessibility of certain

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128 important resources resulted in a product which could be considerably bettered, given a more leisurely approach. The staff, of course, appreciate the circumstances which necessitated rapid completion of their monographs, but urge that these handbooks be revised and expanded at an early opportunity, as well as kept up to date, to insure both comprehensive coverage and the availability of information that is always timely and accurate.

114 4. Because of the pressure of time and the fact that the members of the research team are not native speakers of the English language, some of the manuscripts, despite editing, lack stylistic polish; occasional lapses from the idiomatic will, it is hoped, be eliminated from future versions. In no case do these faults obscure the meaning or distort the substance of the information.

114 5. The scholarly stimulation afforded by the
122 researches undertaken for this project was not materially lessened by the obligation upon the staff to respond to the stringently specific requirements of the contract. While the peoples and languages of the Uralic group have been under continuous investigation at Indiana University for the past twelve years, work by our team on these monographs doubtless tended to enhance further the development of this field at this member institution of the Human Relations Area Files, Inc., whose assistance in providing this splendid opportunity is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

Thomas A. Sebeok
July 1955

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1a,
Sociological Background

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

[162] 565 578 Although the number of Livonians is very small (in 1920 ca. 1500-2000, in 1949 ca. 1000), they are divided into several groups both on the basis of their economic situation and their attitude toward Livonian nationalism. Economically the Livonians form three district classes: a) the farmers, the merchants and the speculators; b) the small farmers; and c) the tenants. A certain antagonism exists between these classes, as evidenced in the fact that the so-called "bourgeois" have not been admitted into the co-operatives. These classes had, before the occupation by the Soviet Union in 1940, different political ideals also: the richer people were for the rightist conservative parties, while the poorer elements gave their support to the Social Democrats.

186 The Livonians are not unified either in their attitude toward Livonian nationalism. Two basic groups can be distinguished among them: the nationally conscious ones who strive for the preservation of Livonianism, and those who prefer to succumb to Latvianization. Between these two extremes are, of course, several transitional groupings with various degrees of interest in the problem.

The strong national awakening which took

186 place in Livonia under the instigation of Estonian and Finnish academic circles in the 1920's and which gave the Livonians their national flag and anthem and their national cultural society, had a strong unifying influence on the Livonians. Many of the people who up to that time had had little interest in the cause of Livonianism were seized with a patriotic fever and started teaching Livonian to their children and began again to speak their old language in their homes. The struggle for the fulfillment of their national program--the formation of their own county, establishment of their own schools and libraries--compelled them to forget the existing differences and to form a unified Livonian nation. The first national festivals, for instance the so-called flag festival in 1923, demonstrated a strong national enthusiam. But the ensuing oppression of their national movement on the part of the Latvian government soon calmed them down and forced them to take a more realistic attitude toward their national problem. Several less idealistically-spirited Livonians abandoned little by little their national ideals and returned again to the use of the Latvian language.

182 Livonianism is rather strong in villages
186 such as Iira, Koshtrõg, and Kuolka, where the majority of the Livonians speak the mother
182 tongue. However, wherever the Livonians form
177 a minority, they show a considerable tendency
578 for assimilation with the Latvians. An example of this is Mustnumm, an almost completely

182 Latvianized Livonian village. In 1930, Loorits found
177 there about ten Livonians, all of whom felt
578 ashamed of their Livonian origin, looked down upon the Livonian language and were even proud that they had forgotten so much of their mother tongue. An arrogant woman ironically demanded from Loorits one Lat for every Livonian word she would say, another jeered even more disdainfully: "What will one get for this language? Land or a house? Geese or only a hen?" And pointing to her house which was being built she continued: "Does this horse language [i.e., Livonian] give the roof on our house or soft sofas in the rooms?" The woman's son swore in Latvian that he would never learn a word of the horse language, that he was not a Livonian but a thoroughbred Latvian and that he would drive the foolish Livonian patriots from the shore into the sea. (Oskar Loortis, "Liivi usundi mandumisprotsess," Virittäjä, 1945, pp. 436-37.)

181 Livonians are basically individualists,
226 but their collectivist bent has strongly devel-
476 oped during the centuries due to their main profession, fishing. Almost all fishing is done collectively, in groups of two to six or more men, since big fishing gear cannot be handled by one person. The fish caught is distributed between all the partners. In addition, large nets and seines are owned collectively.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1b,
Sociological Background

HISTORICAL SETTING

101 The Livonians have no common name for themselves. To the west they call themselves raandalist 'coast people,' and to the east, kalamied 'fishermen.' Only after the first World War they started to use the name liiv, liivli 'Livonians.'[1] The latter name has, however, been used for centuries by their neighbors for designating the Livonians. The Russians call the Livonians livy, the Germans, Liven, and the Latvians, lihbeeshi.

101 Livonians are closely related to the
197 Estonians, Votes, Finns, Karelians and Vepsians. The language of all of these nationalities form the so-called Balto-Finnic group, which is a subgroup of the Finno-Ugric family
175 of languages. The original home of the Finno-Ugric peoples is considered to have been somewhere along the middle course of the Volga River. In the course of time, the forefathers of the Balto-Finns have moved westward. In

1 Some scholars think that the name liiv, etc., is connected with the word Estonian liiv, Finnish liiva 'sand'; others connect it with the name lüd 'Ludes' (Karelian-Vepsian mixed people), which in Karelian-Olonetsian occurs in the form livvikŏi.

195 the last centuries of the pre-Christian era they were in contact with the Baltic peoples (that is with the ancestors of the Latvians, Lithuanians and Old Prussians), and later with the Germanic peoples, as the loan-words indicate. During these Germanic Balto-Finnic relations the Balto-Finns must have been to the east of the Gulf of Finland and Peipus Lake. There this relatively homogeneous group disintegrated and various nationalities started to migrate to their present areas. This occurred probably inthe first centuries A. D.

The Livonians arrived at the Baltic Sea by following the Dvina River. There they gradually spread along both sides of the mouth of this river along the seacoast, settling especially around the mouths of the rivers. The aborigines of these areas, the Latvians, were compelled to move inland. The Livonians are not mentioned in historic times at the south of the Dvina River, except for the regions around the river mouths. Probably the resistance there on the part of the Latvians was quite strong.

The Livonians' choice for their new home was fatal. It promised them cultural development and economic prosperity but, at the same time, a great danger from the neighboring peoples. They were soon put to the test, and their history tells us of constant wars.

The Swedish king Ivar Vidfamne is said to have conquered Kurland, Estonia and all

175 the eastern countries as far as Russia in the seventh century. The Livonians, allied with the Kurs, made in their turn expeditions by sea to foreign shores for military purposes.

Like several other Finno-Ugric peoples, the Livonians are mentioned (under the names liv', lib' and liub) in Nestor's Old Russian Chronicle. But they did not belong to the founders of the Russian Empire. As the trade between West and East proceeded via the Baltic Sea and the Dvina and Dnieper Rivers to the countries on the Caspian and Black Seas, it is natural that the Livonians became involved in it.

The Livonians had close association with the Duchy of Polotsk which arose along the Dvina River at the end of the tenth century. In the constant feuds between Polotsk and Novgorod, the Livonians with their kindred peoples took the side of the Polotsk and had to pay tribute.

Since the middle of the twelfth century the center of gravity in Livonian history has moved from east to west. In 1159 the merchants from Bremen "found" the Livonians' port at the mouth of the Dvina River. After a little skirmish the German merchants made business connections with the Livonians. The merchants were followed by missionaries. The Pope named the Augustinian monk Meinhard first bishop of Livland. With the permission of the

175 prince of Polotsk, he began his missionary activity there at the latest in 1184. The Livonians, however, soon grew tired of the Germans. Only a few of them were then converted to Christianity, and even these people soon gave up the new religion.

The successor of Bishop Meinhard, Berthold, arrived with a group of crusaders but was soon killed in a fight. This fight, however, ended unhappily for the Livonians, and they had to surrender to the Germans and be baptized.

The third bishop, Albert, who arrived in 1200 with his troops, was a clever and energetic man who laid a firm foundation for Christianity in the Baltic countries. Albert demanded twenty sons of the Livonian chiefs as hostages and took them to Germany. Among them was a Livonian chief (called also "king") Kaupo, who later made a trip to the Pope in Rome and was hated by the Livonians as a traitor. In 1201 Bishop Albert founded the City of Riga. A year later he established a military order of knights, known as the "Order of the Brethren of the Sword." The Russians unwillingly watched all this happen, for the strengthening of German power at the Baltic threatened to close the Russian trade route. For this reason constant skirmishes occurred between the two peoples. Conscious of the conflicts between the Germans and the Russians, the Livonians tried to induce the latter to drive the Germans

175 out of the country. The Russians, however, were of no use in this respect, so the Livonians had to rely on their own strength. In 1206 the Livonians, assisted by the Latvians, conquered the Holm fortress and lay siege to Riga. In the ensuing fight on Holm Island, the Christians were victorious. The Livonians' leader, Ako, fell and his head was sent to Riga to Bishop Albert as a symbol of the victory.

After the Livonians' resistance was broken at the lower course of the Dvina River, Bishop Albert in 1206 directed his blow against the Livonians of Toreida county to the north. The former Livonian chief, Kaupo, in charge of the German army, and assisted by 3000 Semgallians (a Latvian tribe), conquered Toreida, his own former fort, but was unable to take the fort of the brave Livonian chief Dabrel. In the same year the Livonians attempted to crush the Germans completely, but without success. Then they finally had to submit, and they began to accept more and more Christian baptism along with German rule. After this they and the Latvians helped the Germans to subjugate the Estonians. This campaign, however, required twenty years of hard warfare.

The rule of the Livonian Order, a time of oppression and slavery for the Livonians as well as for other peoples of the Baltic countries, lasted until 1561. When the Livonian

175 Order was liquidated, the Livonians in the south and in the north became administratively separated from each other. The Livonians who lived in Kurland came in 1562 under the rule of Duke Gottfried Kettler (the last Master of the Order) and his heirs, since Kurland was established as a Duchy under Polish supremacy. The golden era of the Duchy was the period of the rule of Kettler's grandson, Duke James I, when Kurland had a strong fleet and even possessed colonies in Africa and North America. In 1795 the Duchy was annexed to Russia. The Livonians in the so-called Livland, which comprised the area to the north of the Dvina River as far as central Estonia, came in 1561, together with the whole of Livland, under the domination of Poland. In the 1620's Gustavus II Adolphus conquered Livland for Sweden. In 1710 Livland came under Russian rule. Thus in the eighteenth century the Livonians both in Livland and Kurland became Russian subjects.

The Livonians have not been able to withstand the century-long fights in these areas and the constant pressure of Latvianization. The Livonians in Livland were completely Latvianized in the middle of the nineteenth century. Of the Livonians in Kurland, a small group of ca. 3000 was extant at the beginning of the twentieth century. But the World Wars dealt them fatal blows. In 1915, all the Livonians left their homes, part of them as refugees, and the remainder later on the order

175 of the Germans, and moved to the Latvian inland areas, to Estonia and to Russia. After the end of the war, only part of them (ca. 1500) returned.

182 From 1918 to 1940 the Livonians lived under the Latvian rule in the Republic of Latvia. In the 1920's a strong revival was noticeable among them instigated by the Estonians and Finns, but this was constantly held back by the Latvianization policies of the Latvians. In 1940-44 the Livonians lived through the hardships of the Second World War and were compelled to leave their homes again. Since 1944 the remnants of them have belonged, like the whole of Latvia, to the Soviet Union.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph Ic,
Sociological Background

SIZE AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

162 131 Area inhabited by the Livonians. The number of Livonians in 1949 was about 1000, and they lived in the northernmost end of the Kurland Peninsula, in Dondangen rayon of the Latvian SSR. In the 1930's the Livonians lived in the following twelve villages: Luuzh, Piza (Latvian, Pissen), Iira (Latvian, Lielirbe), Uushkila (Latvian, Jaunciems), Siikrõg (Latvian, Sihkraggen), Ire (Latvian, Mazirbe), Koshtrõg (Latvian, Koshtraggen), Pitrõg (Latvian, Pihtraggen), Vaid (Latvian, Waiden), Säänag (Latvian, Saunaggen), Kuolka (Latvian, Kolken), and Mustnumm (Latvian, Mellesille). In the last-mentioned village only a very few
361 Livonians were to be found. All the Livonian villages are about a hundred steps from the coastline, behind the first sand hills. The houses of the villages are clustered together, except Säänag and Vaid which consist of individual farms scattered over the area of a few versts. The Latvian settlements are a couple of versts from the coast, separated from the Livonian villages by small valleys with sand banks.

167 Migration. In the times of serfdom in the last century the Livonians used to escape from the barons' whip to Saaremaa (in Estonia), and

167 later also to America. Some of them emigrated to Sweden. There has been a special kind of emigration, which has lasted up to the present day, namely the leaving of the seacoast by the educated Livonians. Almost none of the educated Livonians who have been able to get white collar jobs in Latvian towns have returned to their native area. Even the one Livonian who received a university education, a man educated at Helsinki University at the Finns' expense, in the hope that he would become a pastor for his fellow-countrymen, preferred to remain in Finland.

167 The majority of the immigrants to the
Z3 Livonians' area have been Latvians who, since the middle of the last century, have been settling in the Livonian villages in growing numbers. Among the immigrants were also numerous Estonians from Saaremaa. The latter used to come as seasonal immigrants for summer work on the farms as farmhands, fishermen and workers in the anchovy factory in Kuolka. Scores of children from Saaremaa were employed as herdsmen on the Livonian shore. Some of the Estonians never returned to Saaremaa, but stayed as permanent immigrants among the Livonians and mingled with them. After Latvia became independent, the close connections between the Livonians and Estonians from Saaremaa were prohibited. Thus the migration came to an end.

162 Population trends. The area of the Livonians was in former times much larger than now, comprising parts of Livland, which has received its name from them, and extensive areas in Kurland. In Livland the Livonians in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries inhabited a rather wide coastal zone, which, beginning from the mouth of the Salis River, extended as far as to the west of the mouth of the Dvina River. The Livonians in Livland were Latvianized in the course of the following centuries. According to a description of 1631, Livonian was spoken there only in a few villages. In 1846 the academician Sjögren, a Finnish scholar, found only 22 Livonians in the region of the Salis River. By 1858 the number of the Livonians had decreased to 8, according to the academician Wiedmann, the last of whom died in 1868. In Kurland the Livonians' area in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries extended from the northernmost point of the Kurland Peninsula, Domesnäs Cape, both southward and westward along the seacoast, farther than nowadays; in the west it reached at least the present city of Windau (Latvian, Ventspils). Most probably the Livonians also lived among the Latvians in the whole of western Kurland as far as 55° North Latitude.

161 The number of Livonians was recorded in the official Russian statistics in 1865 as 2315. In 1888 their number had increased to 2873. From later times there are no exact data available. Some scholars assume that at the

161 outbreak of the World War in 1914, the total number of the Livonians probably surpassed 3000. The census arranged by the Latvian government in 1920 listed only 866 Livonians. The reason for this low number is to be sought probably in the fact that many Livonians were registered as Latvians by the census takers. The total number of Livonians who knew their mother tongue was at the beginning of the 1920's estimated by Loorits as slightly under 2000, and by Kettunen ca. 1500. This number has decreased during the last decades.

177 The main reason for the decreased number of Livonians is Latvianization. Living among the Latvians, they have little by little given up their language and merged with their stronger neighbors. We do not have any way of knowing just how the Latvianization of the Livonians actually proceeded in Livland, but we have evidence for the result. The denationalization of the Livonians in Kurland, however, can be followed more clearly, especially during the last century. An especially strong Latvianization in Kurland started in the time of the corvée (middle of the last century?) when 70 Livonian farmers were chased out of their ancestral homes for their resistance to the baron of Duondangen, and Latvians were brought in to replace them. Since then the Livonians mixed with the Latvians and Latvian began to be used more and more as their spoken language. Latvianization has been strengthened by mixed marriages and especially

177 by the aggressive policy of denationalization of the Livonians by the Latvian church and schools. Church services have always been held in Latvian, even though the congregation in [191] former times did not understand it. In the schools the Latvian teachers punished the speakers of Livonian by beating them and sending them to stand in the corner. Livonian was [166] laughed at and called the "horse language." An especially strong blow was dealt to Livonianism during the first World War when all the Livonians had to leave their homes and spend several years among the Latvians or the Russians. When after the war they returned to their homes, the younger generation hardly knew any Livonian at all. Loorits, who visited these people in 1920, gives the following description: "Livonian is known in all villages, but it is a half-dead language which is usually not spoken. There are still families who speak Livonian, but even more numerous are those where the children do not know any Livonian at all." (Liivi rahva olevik, p. 76.)

After the war, the academic circles of free Estonia and Finland tried to assist in the preservation of the small Livonian ethnic group, but the Latvians, on the other hand, did everything possible to accelerate their assimi- 177 lation. The Livonians' dream of having their 668 own county was, after great efforts made by the Livonians, finally granted by one Latvian government but refused by the next one. Lead-

177 ing Livonian patriots were investigated and
[668] frequently molested by the police. The teaching of Livonian was to some extent tolerated in the schools (two hours a week as an elective), but the futility of it was preached incessantly.
[517] In the 1930's there developed a nationally conscious Livonian intelligentsia under Estonian and Finnish schooling, but they were not given teachers' posts in their own villages. The Latvians also refused to pay regular salaries to teachers of the Livonian language but gave them only pocket money. In answer to the Livonians' petitions to grant them some money for printing books in Livonian, a big library in Latvian was sent to them. In Livonian villages four branches of the Latvian cultural societies were organized. The above-mentioned measures all served one purpose: the quick Latvianization of the handful of Livonians still left.

[166] During the second World War the Livonians were sent again away from their seacoast homes to their neighbors, the Latvians. Undoubtedly this again deprived them of many of their kinsmen. The complete Latvianization of the few Livonians who have remained is, at any rate, a question of only a few decades.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1d,
Sociological Background

ETHNIC GROUPS

141 The most important study of the Livonians' physical characteristics is the doctoral dissertation of Fr. Waldhauer, Zur Anthropologie der Liven (1879), which contains the results of measurements and other anthropological observations made on one hundred Livonian men. According to Waldhauer, the Livonians along the seacoast have mixed very little with other people. They are experienced and bold seamen, self-assertive and free in their conduct. They are strong, slender, with strong bones and muscles. Weak individuals are seldom encountered. The reason for this is, according to Waldhauer, that the Livonians in their early youth go to sea and either die or else develop into strong and sturdy men.

The average height of the Livonian men is 173.6 cm. The tallest measured by Waldhauer was 187 cm. and the shortest 161 cm. Other measures were as follows: measurement while seated 89.2 cm., body measurement 66.8 cm., shoulder width 38.0 cm., width of the pelvis 29.9 cm., the length of the upper extremities 78.8 cm. and of the lower extremities, 98.6 cm.

142 The hair is generally straight, although curly hair is sometimes seen (18 per cent).

142 Fair hair occurs in 2 per cent of the cases and black in 4 per cent; the hair of the remainder (94 per cent) varies between fair and dark brown. The beard is strong, but its actual growth begins late; therefore the younger men, up to 25 years, rarely have beards. The color of the beard is brown or dark brown; Waldhauer did not meet any men with red beards. Body hair is abundant, especially on the extremities.

The eye color varies only a little. It is either medium dark grey (70 per cent), grey brown (18 per cent), or brown (11 per cent). The grey-blue color of eyes is very rare among the men (1 per cent), but more frequent among the women.

141 The head is medium long and medium wide. The cephalic index is 79.9; thus the Livonians may be classified as mesocephalic, bordering however on brachycephalic. The face is narrow and long and its shape is a lengthy oval; round faces are rare. The facial features are generally even, and the cheekbones are not markedly prominent. The forehead is high, the men's eyebrows strong. The nose is medium in length and usually straight. The mouth is of medium size, the lips thin. The eyes are big in 44 per cent of cases, middle-sized in 50 per cent and small in 6 per cent. The teeth are generally good; only 16 per cent had dental decay.

141 Another study dealing with the anthropological features of the Livonians was published by E. Landau in 1909. Landau photographed 30 Livonians, measured 14 and made some other anthropological observations. His study constitutes a little addition to that of Waldhauer. Among the Livonians measured by Landau there were 9 brachycephalic, 3 mesocephalic
[142] and 2 dolicocephalic. Landau says that the color of hair is generally light or dark brown, but fair and auburn hair also occur. He also met a couple of red-bearded Livonians. The form of the face is, according to Landau, generally a wide oval. The lower chin is broad, the nose medium sized, straight, and with a wide bridge. Landau considers the Livonians, on the whole, attractive and healthy.

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Livonians

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1e,
Sociological Background

LANGUAGES

191 The Livonians know, besides their native tongue, Latvian, which enjoys the privilage of the literary language and is in many families used also as the everyday spoken language. Among the older generation the knowledge of Estonian is also very widespread, due to the close association between the Livonians and the Estonians of Saaremaa. Only a few know Russian.

197 The Livonian language is closely related to Estonian, especially to South Estonian. It is divided into two dialects: West and East Livonian. West Livonian comprises the Piza and Luuzh villages, and East Livonian the villages beginning from Uushkila eastward. The language of Iira village constitutes an intermediate dialect. The differences between West and East Livonian are rather insignificant, as one can expect in such a small area. The main phonetic distinction is the preservation of the ę̄ vowel (back e, which occurs also in Estonian and Votic) in the eastern dialects, while in the West it has developed to ü and further to i; for instance: East Livonian vę̄za 'sprout, shoot,' vę̄ę̄rə̑Z 'strange,' West Livonian vüza, vüürə̑Z. There is a difference also in the development of the long ā: its preservation in West and change almost to an

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197 o in East Livonian; for instance, West Livonian maa 'earth,' saaʔtə' to send,' East Livonian moo, sooʔtə.

Latvian has had a strong influence on Livonian. This influence manifests itself especially in phonetics and in the vocabulary. [194] In phonetics, the Latvian influence appears in the delabialization of ü and ö (both short and long), in the loss of h, in the development of the Livonian intonations, etc. Many ancient Livonian words have been substituted by loan-words from Latvian even in such important areas as cattle raising, agriculture and fishing. Kettunen in his big dictionary has indicated more than 3000 words of Latvian origin. The Latvianization of Livonian has gone so far that even Latvian verbal prefixes have been borrowed. Very numerous are the translation loans from Latvian.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1f,
Sociological Background

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

565 Class system. Class distinction among the Livonians is based on economic differences. Before the occupation by the Soviet Union in 1940, there were basically three kinds of people who represented three different classes: a) the farmers, that is, the owners of ancestral farms (4-8 ha. of arable land and 25-50 ha. of meadows); b) the small farmers who lived on the land of the farmers or of the former noblemen (owning at the most 8 ha.); and c) the tenants. There was also developing a special class of speculators, called the "bourgeois," who in the class system corresponded in prestige at least to the old farmers.

Class distinctions were more noticeable in East Livonia where the people were generally more prosperous. Here, for instance, the "bourgeois" were not admitted into the co-operatives. The class differences appeared also in the political convictions: the farmers were more for the rightist parties, the poorer elements for the Social Democrats.

575 Societies. The only cultural organization
517 of the Livonians, Liivõd iit (The Livonian Company), started its work in 1923, after several difficulties presented by the Latvian government were overcome. It embraced

575 all the Livonians who were nationality con-
517 scious, and became the center of the Livonian revival. The Society had its choir, dramatic company, library, etc. With the help of the Estonian, Finnish and Hungarian brother nations, a modern "house of culture" was erected for the Society. The work of the Society was stopped upon the occupation of Latvia by the Soviet Union in 1940.

474 The only economic associations were the co-operatives, which were organized for the sale of fish and procurement of fishing gear.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1h,
Sociological Background

SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

181
157 Livonians' character. The Livonians are said to be bashful but brave and determined. In their boldness, their knowledge of languages, and in their spirituality they are supposed to be ahead of their neighbors, the Latvians. If one can make friends with the Livonians and win their trust, they will become very friendly and trust one with their most intimate secrets. They are reported to be a very honest and forthright people. Seldom do they lock their granaries, and they send their horses and sheep into the forests for weeks on end without supervision. The drawbacks to the Livonian character are said to be their greediness, which is revealed in an unscrupulous desire to loot wrecked ships, their stubbornness and their drunkenness.

Spiritual development. The Livonians live in a spiritual childhood. Loorits illustrates this in his description of a middle aged well-to-do farmer who has lived in the United States and in South Russia, who knows English and Russian well, but who cannot believe that the earth rotates and that the sun is a fiery mass bigger than the earth. "Mass, what is mass?" he asks incomprehensibly and shakes his head: "Oh, oh, how these philosophers lie."

181 It was also impossible for them to under-
157 stand why certain anthropologists were digging up their dead. Since Professor Setälä's last visit to the Livonians took place not long before the outbreak of the first World War, they were convinced that the professor had sent the war. When Loorits and Professor Kettunen were doing field-work among them after the war, the Livonians considered this a bad omen, for "the war will come again."

183 Customs and superstitions. The Livonians stick faithfully to their old customs and traditions. Especially the customs of marriage and burial, as the most important events of a man's life, are followed in the greatest detail.

585 Wedding customs are slightly different in various villages. In Ire, for instance, they are as follows: When the young man has chosen his bride, they both go on horseback to have their banns read. During the following few weeks the girl is very busy with preparations for her wedding gifts. The wedding takes place on Sunday morning at the regular church service. Before going to church, the bridal pair is betrothed. This happens when they are seated at a table and their hands are placed upon each other; certain relatives also place their hands upon or underneath the hands of the young people. The bridegroom and the bride then go to church in different carriages, the bride wearing a high pearl

585 crown on her head and long wide silk ribbons fluttering behind her. She has a wide apron on her waist and white stockings on her feet. After the wedding ceremony the newlyweds drive together to the bride's home, where the farewell party is held. The best men and maids of honor go to another house where they dance until evening. When they finally arrive at the farewell party, they find many people waiting for them at the closed gate and asking for a passport. The newcomers give them a big paper, but this does not help; only a bottle of liquor serves to let them enter. Meanwhile, the bride and her mother have hidden themselves. When the mother is finally found, she is asked for the keys of the granary in order to look for the bride there. At first a bunch of wrong keys is given; only after they have given money do they get the right key. In the granary they find three brides instead of one, the eyes of all of them covered. When the right one is finally picked out, all go into the house to eat and drink, after which follows joyful dancing.

After the bride has distributed her gifts and the people have danced and sung, they all go on horseback to the bridegroom's home. The bridegroom has gone there before the others to wait for his bride. There the companions of the bridal pair are replaced by others. At the bridegroom's home the main program consists also of dancing and eating. In the evening the bride is led to the granary,

585 where the crown is taken off her head and a cap is put on instead, as a sign of a married woman. The celebration continues for a day and night, and at its end the bridal pair is presented with money.

764 Besides the wedding, much attention is paid to the burial. During the burial the old customs are exactly followed and various signs are observed in the fear that they may have some bearing on the life of the living.

527 789 Certain memorable days of the year are observed. Special customs are connected with each saint's day and holiday. On Matthias Day, for instance, one is not allowed to bring light into the room, so that there will be no flies. On Nicholas' Day, the people must boil meat and kill a cock. On Martin's Day the boys put on fur coats, inside out, make a beard like that of the devil, take a cane and roam around, beating children and girls. On Shrovetide evening the girls put white shirts on and go out to make fun. On Anthony's Day net weaving is prohibited, otherwise the pigs will tear it. On the morning of Maria's Day a key is given to the pigs, so that the pigs will know where to get their food. On Good Friday the girls go to the barn to feel the testes of the ox or ram so as to find many bird's eggs in the spring. On Christmas Eve the people go out to look at the stars to find out whether there will be many little lambs. And on Christmas they drink beer, eat

527 white bread and dance. On New Year's Eve at
789 midnight they go to the well to drink liquor; the water in the well is then believed to change to liquor. Afterwards they go to listen to how the horses talk in the stable.

181 The entire life of the Livonians is imbued with superstitions. Various phenomena are believed to forecast rains and storms, sun and drought, and in the same way the future is forecast from dreams and palmistry. The Livonians see all kinds of signs of luck or misfortune and arrange their life accordingly. (For details of their superstitions, see chapter 1k.)[1]

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 4,
Sociological Background

ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

531 Folk art. Livonian folk art is rather meagre. If we compare the Livonian national dress, which is now completely out of use, with the Estonian and Latvian dress we can see that the Livonian clothing is far inferior in beauty. The same poverty appears also in the Livonian wooden articles. The small Livonian tribe has not been able to maintain its traditional popular art, nor has it accepted any fruitful influences from the Latvian folk art. But when the Livonians long ago were an independent people, the situation was quite different. Much silver jewelry was found in their former habitat, which gives evidence of the careful work, the variety of form and the artistic talent of the early Livonians.

533 Folklore. The lion's share of the present
177 Livonian song repertoire is simply translated from Latvian, but original songs are rare. Old features common to Estonian and Finnish songs have not been preserved. Interesting perhaps is the inclination of the Livonians toward the alliterative beginning rhyme, which is typical of Balto-Finnic folk songs. Many of the Latvian songs were borrowed by them a few generations ago, so that they now have a firm Livonian popular tradition already. Some of the Latvian folk songs (the old four-

533 line songs, or dainas, and the later romances,
177 or zinges) have come to the Livonians by way
[91] of literature. Several songs are sung by the Livonians in two languages --Livonian and Latvian. Some of the Livonian songs have been borrowed from the Estonians in Saaremaa, and a very few from the Germans.

533 The most vital among the Livonian folk songs sung in the native language are the children's songs. The more Latvian gained ground as the language of public life and the more Livonian was confined to home use, the more have the former Livonian songs passed over into the children's repertoire.

The women, who have stuck closer to home and had less contact with the outside world, have had less opportunity to learn Latvian, and, as a result, are the last and only bearers of the folk song tradition. But a few decades ago even the women began to sing to their children the Latvian songs and to teach them Latvian, so as to prepare them for their future life.

177 The Livonians still sing their old songs
533 on Easter morning. On other occasions, however, the songs are sung mainly in Latvian. This holds true especially of the wedding songs for which Latvian singers have been brought from the inland area. This was occurring even some time ago when the majority of the wedding guests did not even understand much Latvian. Many love songs also are sung in Latvian.

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[177] The Livonian fairy tales are, in the main, 538 borrowed from Latvian. Telling tales and 517 different kinds of stories and anecdotes is a favorite Livonian pastime, practiced at home, on visits, in taverns and on fishing trips. The Livonians also enjoy telling proverbs and riddles.

214 Literature. The Livonian literature is also very scanty. The only book in Livonian until recent times was the translation of the Gospel of Matthew, published in 1863 by the [197] British Bible Society. This appeared in two dialects and was translated by the teachers Prinz from Piza (western dialect) and Pollmann from Koshtrõg (eastern dialect). The orthography was based on Sjögren, the first scholar who studied Livonian in the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1880 appeared a new edition of this book in the eastern dialect in the Latvian orthography. In the early 1920's several Livonian readers (Esimene liivi lugemik 'The First Livonian Reader,' etc.) were published by the Academic Society of the Mother Tongue in Estonia. The Estonian Temperance Society also published a few books for the Livonians, including a play dealing with temperance. Later the Finns began the publication of Livonian books of which the most significant are the Jemakiel lugdõbraantõz ('The Reader of the Mother Tongue,' Helsinki 1935) by P. Damberg, and the translation of almost all of the New Testament by K. Stalte (Helsinki, 1937). K. Stalte also published

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214 poems in Livonian. The Akateeminen Heimoklubi (Academic Club for the Kindred People) has published in Helsinki since 1931 a small mimeographed periodical entitled Liivli in Livonian under the editorship of K. Stahlberg and, later, K. Stalte.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1j,
Sociological Background

EDUCATION

[212] 871 The Livonians are all literate, thanks to the schools. In the twenties there was one elementary school in Kuolka, Ire and in Piza. Before the first World War the number of schools was even greater; there was one school in Piza and two schools in both Kuolka and Ire. These schools were Latvian and served the cause of Latvianization. Livonian was taught only two hours a week as an elective.

The Livonian children who wished to continue their education attended the high school in Dondangen or went even farther away to Talsen or Windau. Before the first World War there was a naval school in Ire. Several of these educated seamen of various ranks [177] have been ardent patriots. Other educated Livonians, however, who have gotten jobs in Latvian towns as postal clerks, or in other positions have usually been completely Latvianized.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1k,
Sociological Background

RELIGION

795 The Livonians are mainly Lutherans. They were converted to Christianity 700 years ago by the German knights who used fire and sword to convince them. Lutheranism also was spread among them by the Germans. In later times other denominations have appeared along the Livonian coast. There are a few hundred converts to Greek Orthodoxy who yielded to the enticements of the Russians in the last century. The Baptist doctrine has also spread among them.

There are three Lutheran churches on the Livonian coast, in Ire, Piza and Kuolka. The Lutheran pastor, a Latvian, lives in Ire and preaches in all three churches. The only Orthodox church is to be found in Kuolka. The Baptists have two chapels in Iira and Pitrog and several preachers.

771 The Livonians have not been able to comprehend fully the Christian religion. They can understand only the religious fairy tales and the legends of the Bible, such as the horrors of Doomsday and burning in hellfire. Some of them interpret the Bible in a special way. Loorits tells of an old man who, because of the casual similarity between the names in the Bible and certain Estonian names,

771 assumed that Estonian was the first language of the world, and that Adam and Eva were Estonians. He was venerated by the women almost as a prophet. Characteristic of the religious fanaticism of the Livonians is the following event which took place in Pitrõg in the winter of 1920. A group of devout believers decided, after they had destroyed their mundane property, to travel to heaven. For this purpose they gathered in ardent prayer to a "holy" man to wait for the cloud which would take them from this shore of misery to better pastures. Although several dates were set for their travel to heaven, nothing came of it. Finally the people began to accuse their leader of being a devil instead of a holy man.

795 The influence of the Baptist sect is
771 stronger among the Livonians than that of the established church. This sect is flourishing in several villages, such as Iira, Uushkila, Siikrõg, Pitrõg, etc. The Baptists have followed in practice the principle of self-improvement and brotherly love, and this may have influenced the high level of honesty still to be found among the Livonians. But the sect of the Baptists has also had its negative influence. The believers emphasize too much external formality and celebrate Sunday in the most extreme way.

771 In addition to the church religion, there exists among the Livonians a heathen religion also, which officially is condemned. This

771 religion is based on a belief in nature spirits, beliefs about the dead, and a belief in magic. These beliefs form the cornerstones of the
[177] Livonian folk religion. As Loorits has shown, the Livonian folk religion has been exposed to very strong foreign influences (Kur, Latvian, German, etc.), whereas the genuine Proto Balto-Finnic inheritance in it is comparatively small.

776 For the Livonians nature appears animated, filled with all kinds of spirits. Almost every natural phenomenon has its mother. Thus there are mothers for snow, wind, earth, flax, forests, berries, the sea, etc. Fathers are, however, rare among the spirits (e.g. the forest father, sea father, etc.). Since the sea plays an especially prominent role in the Livonians' life, sea spirits are most numerous in the folk beliefs. Besides the sea mother and sea father, there are sea people, who live as the people on the earth do. The sea maidens bathe and dance in the waves and tend the blue seacows. There are also horses in the sea whose names are used to scare the children. The children of Pharaoh, the successors of the troops of the Pharaoh who perished in the Red Sea while chasing the Israelites, are supposed to be part human and part fish.

The Livonian spirits are completely anthropomorphic and their life is similar to the life of the people themselves. They have their houses, gardens and animals, their own

776 social classes, kings and castle ladies, farm hands and maidens, even priests and an army. The spirits are divided, too, on the model of a family, into fathers, mothers, sons and
[777] daughters. The spirits have preserved only a little of their heathen origin, but show a strong Catholic influence. Several of them have been taken over from Latvian, such as the God's sons, the sun's daughters, the mother of happiness, etc.

[777] 775 The Livonians' beliefs concerning the dead are strongly influenced by the Latvians. Widespread is the conception of death as a special being (novõ) which predicts the death of the people by noise. The Livonians believe that the body of the dead stays in the grave until the resurrection, but the soul goes during the knell into heaven or wanders through the world. When the dead is taken to the graveyard, other dead come to meet him riding on the animal which was killed for the burial. They sit sometimes on the coffin, which therefore becomes
[764] quite heavy. The dead person accompanies the burial procession back to the house door or even enters the room. For him a towel, an empty plate and a spoon are put on the end of the table which is closest to the door. Some people are believed to be able to see the dead during the burial. The time between Michaelmas and St. Martin's Day is called "souls' time," since the dead are then roaming around. In former times it was customary to feed the dead with porridge, bread, beer and milk every

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775 Monday evening during the "souls' time."

The dead live in the other world or among the people. Life after death is believed to be the continuation of the earthly life. On Christmas night or on Saturday nights they have services in the lighted church. If their tranquillity is distrubed, they do everything to have their peace restored again. The sorcerers, unbaptised children and children killed by their mothers, haunt the living. Those who commit suicide, who are murdered or who otherwise die an untimely death, are said to wander around until their hour of death arrives as set by God. From the unnatural dead have been developed the "cold-shoe," the universal phantom of the Livonians, spooks and nightmares.

754 The belief in magic is important in the Livonian pagan religion. The names of the sorcerer (bur'a and skun'shtnika) have been taken over from the Latvians. One can recognize a sorcerer by his constant spitting and by his unmatched socks. The sorcerers can spoil the entire life of their fellowmen by sending them sickness and misery. On the other hand, they can also do wonders: make the thieves sick and cause them to lose their way. The sorcerers have a secret book, called the Seventh Book of Moses, of which one copy is kept in a church wall in Riga. Often the sorcerers have close connections with the devil. The favorite times for their activity are the nights before

754 great holidays or weddings. The fact that they can change their form has caused the rise of mythological explanations of whirlwinds and nightmares, and the belief in werewolves, all of which are popular among the Livonians.

Besides the evil sorcerers, there are also good ones in the Livonian mythology. The latter were originally mediators between human beings and the spirits; they were the priests and wise healers, in a word, the great benefactors and helpers of the people. Due to the persecution of the sorcerers by the Christian religion, several of the good qualities of the sorcerers have been dimmed, and only their functions as soothsayers and healers have been preserved up to the present time. There are certain sicknesses for which there is no other cure except the sorcerer's spell. Loorits states that the sorcerers possess a power in the hearts of the people which is much stronger than that of the whole church and the pastors put together.

782 According to the chronicle of Henricus de Lettis, the Livonians in the thirteenth century practiced the sacrifice of human beings and animals. In the course of the centuries, these sacrifices have disappeared. An evidence of the early animal sacrifices can be seen in the custom of killing certain animals at burials. More vital are, however, all kinds of material offerings which are brought, or were brought in the recent past, to various spirits. When

782 starting to build a house, it is customary when to put
342 some money, sugar and liquor under the foundation so that the protective spirit of the house will eat and drink and guard the house. When the house is finished, some white bread, liquor and beer is put on the loft for the house spirit. It is believed that if the people do not take care of the house spirit, the lightning will strike and
782 burn the house. When sowing flax liquor is poured for the flax mother. In former times the people used to place various offerings at the edge of the field for several field spirits, and when they ate in the forest, they left some food on a hill for the forest god.

Especially common are the offerings to the sea mother and sea father. To launch a new boat or start a voyage, the Livonians used to pour some liquor into the sea. Liquor and white bread are offered to the sea also on Easter morning. When going to fish for the first time in the spring, they pray and make offerings; when they return, they throw a handful of fish into the sea. Offerings are also made during a storm and when going to swim for the first time.

778 The Livonians formerly had holy stones and holy trees. One such stone was to be found in Knabenberg (Latvian, Puishkalns); the Livonians and Latvians worshipped it and honored it with offerings. A holy linden at Augenmünde (seven versts from Piza village) has been famous for centuries in all of North

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778 Kurland. During war times the people used to pray under it and throw its leaves into the water. If the leaves floated against the current, this meant that their prayer was heard by God.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1p
Sociological Background

HEALTH AND SANITATION

262 252 Dietary habits. In first place among the Livonian foods belongs fish, which is eaten the year round in different forms, either fresh, salted or smoked. Along with fish are eaten bread and potatoes. The bread is kneaded in small troughs, four to six loaves at a time, and the potatoes are either boiled or fried with butter. Very often the Livonian housewives make soups and porridges. They prepare soups from potatoes, peas, and beans, either separately or mixed, and from grits, flour, etc. A dumpling soup made from grated potatoes is very tasty. The general name for different kinds of porridges is sandrokk 'thick porridge,' as opposed to the rokk, boiled from sour milk in the summer. In the winter the Livonians drink tea and coffee prepared from home products. On Saturday evenings rolls (kakk) made of barley flour appear on the table. For holidays they make pies, cheese cakes and home-brewed beer. Since the Livonian forests are rich in berries, especially in blueberries and whortleberries, different kinds of preserves are prepared from them.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph Ir,
Sociological Background

ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

186 National symbols. The Livonians won their own flag and their national anthem at the beginning of the twenties during their national renaissance. The Livonian flag, its green, white, and blue symbolizing the colors of the forest, the beach sand and the sea, was consecrated during the flag festival in the fall of 1923. At this festival representatives of Estonian and Finnish students presented, in addition to their enthusiastic greetings, several musical compositions to accompany the Livonian words written by Miina Hermann (Härma) (Estonian) and Heikki Klemetti (Finnish). A Finnish guest in his report on the festivals stated that "I have nowhere seen such a strong feeling as was noticeable among the Livonians."

[538] The Livonian national anthem was written in 1924 by Karl Stalte, the sexton of Ire village and the only Livonian poet. The melody of the anthem is the same as that of the Finnish and Estonian anthem. It is, however, not a translation or imitation, but "independently...expresses the love of the Livonians for their shore washed by the sea, where grow the old fir trees hardened by storms, where dwells the fisherman fighting against the forces of nature, and where rings the dear holy sound of

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186 Livonians" (Kettunen, Liivil. kansallistunto, p. 244.)

186 648 The aspirations of the Livonian leaders were at the beginning of the 1920's rather modest, namely, to join all the Livonian villages into one county, to have their own schools and books, and to preserve their native tongue. Some Latvian Livophiles at a meeting in Riga openly talked of cultural autonomy for the Livonians, but the aspirations of the Livonians themselves did not fly so far. The more tenacious among them insisted upon the creation of their own independent county. Up until this time, the Livonians had been connected administratively with two Latvian townships which reached tens of kilometers inland. The Livonians, although their villages were completely isolated from the inland areas, had nevertheless to fulfill several obligations, such as repairing bridges, hauling firewood for the township, the church and the schools, and the like. The Livonians had good reason to want their own county. But the Latvians, apparently fearing the rise of Livonian nationalism, tried in every way to prevent this. When the plebiscite, arranged at the seacoast in 1923, demonstrated an overwhelming majority to be in favor of the special Livonian county, the Latvian government finally had to yield. The next administration, however, cancelled this decision.

186 The Livonians' attempts to have their own schools had no better luck (see Subparagraph 1j). ⁂ More happily was solved the question of

⁂ [cf. P. 40, cat. 116 - Analyst]

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186 the publication of Livonian books, thanks to the help of the Estonian and Finnish nations (see Subparagraph 1i).1

1 [cf. pp. 37-38, category IIc - Analyst]

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3a,
Economic Background

AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL

423 In former times the Livonians were the
241 tenants of two estates--the West Livonians of the Popen estate and the East Livonians of the Dondangen estate. Especially bad was the situation of the West Livonians. The farmers here had only one to four hectares, for which they had to pay high rent and fulfil several other obligations, such as delivery of wood for the township and the village pastor, repairing of roads, gathering hay and so on. The situation in East Livonia was somewhat better, since the farms there were bigger (4-8 hectares of arable land and 25-50 hectares of meadow), the soil was better and the lease conditions were more favorable. The baron of Dondangen sold the farms to the Livonians some time before the end of the czarist rule, while the West Livonians remained tenants until the beginning of the Latvian Republic.

241 The agriculture of the Livonians is not highly productive. The main summer grains which are grown are barley, oats and summer
[439] rye. The deficit in grain was in former time eked out by imports from Saaremaa (in Estonia), and, since 1920, from Latvia. Only potatoes give a good yield. For fertilizer, the Livonians use manure and brown seaweed. Agricultural implements are rather primitive.

241 In the twenties there were only a few "German" ploughs and steel harrows and a couple of horse-drawn rakes for the whole Livonian sea-coast. Grain was being threshed partly by hand, partly by a machine which was bought before the first World War.

The smallness of the fields is partly compensated by the gardens which are to be found in every household. In the gardens are grown a few apple trees, berries, and various kinds of vegetables, such as cabbages, carrots, beets, peas, beans, radishes, turnips and [231] chicory. The Livonians used to be famous for their apiculture, but after the first World War this has been neglected.

233 Cattle raising had regressed in the
422 twenties as a result of the war. Before the war, because of the moist valley meadows between the woods and the sands, it had been a fairly flourishing enterprise. Even the small farmers kept several cows for which they rented some meadowland from the baron. The larger farmers had at least ten cows.

226 The main means of livelihood of the Livonians is fishing. The fishing begins early in the spring at the time of the ice breaking and lasts until the sea freezes, usually about Christmas time. During milder winters fishing sometimes goes on all the time. Early in the spring, usually in April, the fishing of salmon and codfish begins. In May comes the flounder

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226 season, which lasts until late fall. This is one of the most important fish for the Livonians. After St. John's Day vimba bream is caught also. In August starts the season of anchovies and, a little later, of sea-bleaks.

In the fall, about the time of the potato harvest, there is a second season for codfish.

The fish are sold in the towns along the seashore, mainly in Riga and Windau. In czarist times, the fishermen themselves shipped their fish abroad also.

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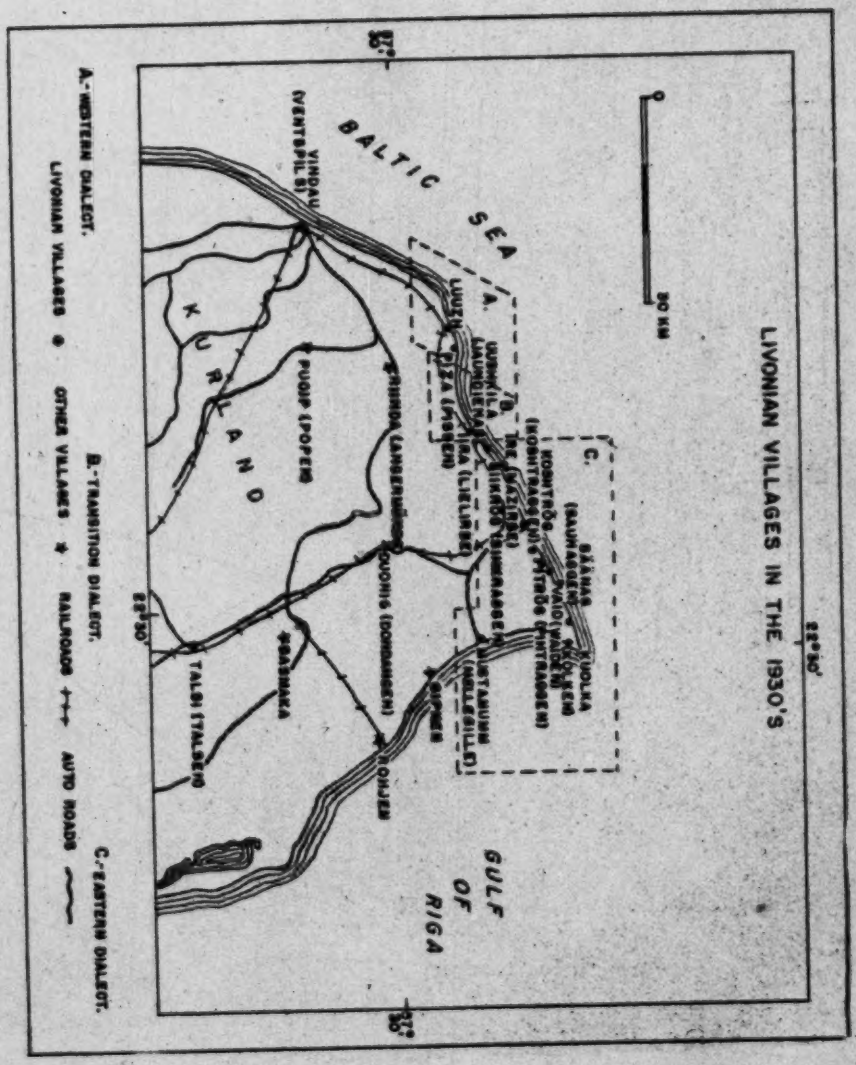

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